SOME
CAUTIONS
Offered to the
Conſideration of Thoſe
Who are to
Chuſe MEMBERS
To ſerve in the
Enſuing Parliament.

By an EMINENT HAND.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

SOME CAUTIONS, &c.

I WILL make no other Introduction, than that it is hoped the Counties and Boroughs will remember in general, That beſides other Conſequences, they will have the Credit of a good Choice, or the Scandal that belongeth to an ill one.

The Creators will be thought like their Creatures; and therefore an ill Choice will either be a Diſparagement of their Underſtanding, or their Morals.

There cannot be a fuller Approbation of a Thing, than the Chuſing of it; ſo that the Fault of the Members choſen, if known before-hand, will be judged to be of the Growth of that County or

Borough, after ſuch a ſolemn Approbation of them.

In ſhort, thoſe who ſend up their Repreſentatives to *Weſtminſter*, ſhould take Care they may be ſuch as will do them Right, and their Country Honour.

Now to the Particulars.

I. A very extraordinary Earneſtneſs to be choſen, is no very good Symptom: A Deſire to ſerve the Nation in Parliament, is an *Engliſh* Man's Ambition: Always to be encouraged, and never to be diſapproved.

A Man may not only be willing to ſtand, but he may declare that Willingneſs to his Friends, that they may aſſiſt him, and by all the Means becoming a modeſt and prudent Man, he may endeavour to ſucceed, and prevent the being diſappointed in it.

But there is a wide Difference between this and the raiſing a Kind of petty War in the County or Corporation; entering the Liſts rather for a Combat than an Election; throwing Fire-balls to put Men into Heat, and omitting to ſpread no Reports, whether true or falſe, which may give an Advantage by laying a Blemiſh upon a Competitor.

Theſe Methods will ever be ſuſpicious; it will never be thought a Natural Thing for Men to take ſuch extravagant Pains for the meer Sake of doing good to others.

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To be content to ſuffer ſomething for a good End, is that which many would do without any great Repugnance: but where a Man can honeſtly propoſe nothing to himſelf, except Troubles, Charge, and Loſs, by Abſence from his own Affairs, to be ſo violent in the Purſuit of ſo ill a Bargain, is not at all ſuited to the languiſhing Virtue of Mankind ſo corrupted.

Such a Self-denying Zeal in ſuch a Self-ſeeking Age is ſo little to be imagin'd, that it may without Injury be ſuſpected.

Therefore when theſe bluſtring Pretenders come upon the Stage, their natural Temper and other Circumſtances ought to be very well conſider'd, before Men truſt them with the Diſpoſal of their Money, or their Liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one ſingle Man whoſe other Qualifications would over-balance the Objections that lie againſt ſuch importunate Suitors.

II. Recommending Letters ought to have no Effect upon Elections.

In this I muſt diſtinguiſh; for tho' in Strictneſs perhaps there ſhould be no Exception; yet in Compliance with long Practice, and out of an Indulgence that is neceſſary in a Time when Mankind is too much looſened from ſevere Rules, to be kept cloſe up to them, Letters ſent only from equal Men, doing good Men Right by giving Evidence in their Behalf, offering them as fitly qualified, when they really are ſo, and freeing them

them from unjuſt Aſperſions, may be ſtill allowed.

The Letters I mean, are from Men of Power, where it may be beneficial to comply, and inconvenient to oppoſe.

Choice muſt not only be free from Force, but from Influence, which is a Degree of Force: There muſt be no Difficulty, no Apprehenſion that a Refuſal will be ill taken, or reſented.

The Freeholders muſt be Freemen too; they are to have no Shackles upon their Votes in an Election: and the Men who ſtand, ſhould carry their own Letters of Recommendation about them, which are their good Character and Behaviour in the World, without borrowing Evidence, eſpecially when it comes from ſuſpected Hands.

Thoſe who make Uſe of theſe Epiſtles, ought to have no more Advantage from them, than the *Moſcovites* have from the Letters put into their Hands, when they are buried, to recommend them to St. *Nicholas*.

The firſt ſhould as little get Admittance for Men into the Parliament, as theſe Letters can introduce the Bearers into Heaven.

The Scandal of ſuch Letters lieth firſt in the arrogant impoſing of thoſe that write them, and next in the wretched Meanneſs of thoſe that need them.

Men muſt be fallen very low in their Credit, who upon ſuch an Occaſion have a Recourſe to Power to ſupport it: Their Enemies could not give

give ſtronger Evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the Electors judge otherwiſe, they will be pretty ſure in a little Time to ſee their Miſtake, and to repent it.

III. Non-Attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a Bar againſt the Choice of Men who have been Guilty of it.

It is one of the worſt Kinds of Non-Reſidence, and the leaſt to be excuſed: It is very hard that Men ſhould deſpiſe a Duty, which perhaps is the only Ground of the Reſpect that is paid to them.

It is ſuch a Piece of Sawcineſs for any one to preſs for the Honour of ſerving in Parliament, and then to be careleſs in attending it, that in a Houſe where there were ſo many Officers, the Penalty had not been improper to have caſhier'd them for not appearing at the general Muſter.

If Men forbear to come out of Lazineſs, let them be gratified by taking their Eaſe at Home without Interruption: If out of ſmall Cunning to avoid Difficulties, and to eſcape from the Inconvenience of voting in critical Caſes, let them enjoy that deſpicable Pitch of Wiſdom, and never pretend to make a Figure where the Publick is to be ſerved.

They who thought fit in one Seſſion to neglect the publick Buſineſs, may be juſtly ſuſpected, by their ſtanding, in the next to intend their own.

Beſides theſe more deliberate Offenders, there are ſome who do not attend even when they are in the

the Houſe; abſent in their Thoughts for want of comprehending the Buſineſs that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by any Thing that is trivial.

Such Men are Nuſances to a ſerious Aſſembly; and when they are numerous, it amounteth almoſt to a Diſſolution; it being ſcarce poſſible for good Senſe to be heard, whilſt a Noiſe is made by the Buzzing of theſe Horſe Flies.

The *Roman* Cenſors who degraded a Senator for yawning whilſt there was a Debate, would have much more abundant Matter here, upon which they might exerciſe their Juriſdiction.

To conclude this Head, there is ſo few that ever mended in theſe Caſes, that after the firſt Experiment it is not at all reaſonable to take them upon a new Tryal.

IV. Men who are unquiet and buſy in their Natures, are to give more than ordinary Proofs of their Integrity, before the electing them into a publick Truſt can be juſtified. As a hot Summer breedeth greater Swarms of Flies, ſo an active Time breedeth a greater Number of theſe ſhining Gentlemen.

It is pretty ſure, that Men who cannot allow themſelves to be at Reſt, will let no Body elſe be at Quiet. Such a perpetual Activity is apt by Degrees to be applied to the Purſuit of their private Intereſt. And their Thoughts being in a continual Motion, they have not Time to dwell long enough upon any Thing to entertain a Scru-

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ple. So that they are generally at full Liberty to do what is moſt convenient for them, without being fettered by any Reſtraints.

Nay further; whenever it happeneth that there is an Impunity for Cheating, theſe nimble Gentlemen are apt to think it a Diſparagement to their Underſtandings not to go into it.

I doubt it is not a Wrong to the preſent Age, to ſay, that a Knave is a leſs unpopular Calling than it hath been in former Times. And to ſay Truth, it would be Ingratitude in ſome Men to turn honeſt, when they owe all they have to their Knavery.

The People are in this Reſpect unhappy; they are too many to do their own Buſineſs; their Numbers, which make their Strength, are at the ſame Time the Cauſe of their Weakneſs; they are too unweildy to move; and for this Reaſon nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable Impotency: So that they muſt have Solicitors to purſue and look after their Intereſts; who are too often diſpoſed to diſpenſe with the Fidelity they owe to thoſe that truſt them; eſpecially if the Government will pay their Bills without Abatement.

It is better theſe Gentlemen's Dexterity ſhould be employed any where than in Parliament, where the ill Conſequence of their being Members is too much diffuſed, and not reſtrained to the County or Borough who ſhall be ſo unwary as to chuſe them.

V. Great Drinkers are leſs fit to ſerve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Men's Virtue, as well as their Underſtanding is apt to be tainted by it.

The Appearance of it is ſociable and well-natur'd, but it is by no Means to be rely'd upon.

Nothing is more frail than a Man too far engaged in wet Popularity.

The Habit of it maketh Men careleſs of their Buſineſs, and that naturally leadeth them into Circumſtances, that make them liable to Temptation.

It is ſeldom ſeen, that any Principles have ſuch a Root, as that they can be Proof againſt the continual Droppings of a Bottle.

As to the Faculties of the Mind, there is not leſs Objection; the Vapours of Wine may ſometimes throw out Sparks of Wit, but they are like ſcattered Pieces of Ore, there is no Vein to work upon.

Such Wit, even the beſt of it, is like paying great Fines; in which Caſe there muſt of Neceſſity be an Abatement of the conſtant Rent.

Nothing ſure is a greater Enemy to the Brain, than too much Moiſture; it can the leaſt of any Thing bear the being continually ſteeped: And it may be ſaid, that Thought may be reſembled to ſome Creatures which can live only in a dry Country.

Yet ſo arrogant are ſome Men, as to think they

they are ſo much Maſters of Buſineſs, as that they can play with it; they imagine they can drown their Reaſon once a Day, and that it ſhall not be the worſe for it; forgetting, that by too often diving, the Underſtanding at laſt groweth too weak to riſe up again.

I will ſuppoſe this Fault was leſs frequent when *Solon* made it one of his Laws, that it was lawful to kill a Magiſtrate if he was found drunk. Such a Liberty taken in this Age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible Execution.

VI. Wanting-Men give ſuch Cauſe of Suſpicion where ever they deal, that ſurely the Chuſers will be upon their Guard, as often as ſuch dangerous Pretenders make their Application to them.

Let the Behaviour of ſuch Men be never ſo plauſible and untainted, yet they who are to pitch upon thoſe they are to truſt with all they have, may be excuſed, if they do not only conſider what they are, but what they may be.

As we pray our ſelves we may not be led into Temptation, we ought not by any Means to thruſt others into it; even though our own Intereſt was not concerned, And ſure when it is, the Argument hath not leſs Force.

If a Man hath a ſmall Eſtate, and a numerous Family; where it happeneth that a Man hath as many Children as he hath Tenants, it is not a recommending Circumſtance for his Election.

When it cometh to be the Queſtion with ſuch a Man, Whether he ſhall be juſt to the Publick, or cruel to his Family; It is very poſſible the Deciſion may be on the ſide of corrupted Nature.

It is a Complement to this Age, which it doth not deſerve, to ſuppoſe Men are ſo ty'd up to Morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it: eſpecially now when it is called Starving not to be embroidered, or ſerved in Plate.

The Men choſen to ſerve their Country, ſhould not be loaden with Suits that may tempt them to aſſume Privileges; much leſs under ſuch Neceſſities as may more immediately prepare them for Corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular Intereſt, have more Reaſon to offer their Service than others have to accept of it. And though I do not doubt, but there may be ſome whoſe Virtue would triumph over their Wants, let them be never ſo preſſing; yet to expoſe the Publick to the Hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be juſtified by thoſe that chuſe. And tho it muſt be allow'd poſſible for a Wanting-Man to be honeſt, yet it is impoſſible for a Man to be wiſe that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a ſort of Men that have a Tinſel-wit, which make them ſhine among thoſe who cannot judge.

Club and Coffee-houſe Gentlemen, petty Merchants of ſmall Conceits, who have an empty Habit of prating without Meaning; They always

always aim at Wit and generally make falſe Fire.

Their Buſineſs is leſs to learn, than to ſet themſelves out; which makes them chuſe to be with ſuch as can only be Witneſſes of their ſmall Ingenuity, rather than with ſuch as might improve it.

There is a ſubordinate Wit, as much inferior to a Wit of Buſineſs, as a Fidler at a Wake is to the lofty Sound of an Organ.

Men of this Size are in no Degree ſuited to the Buſineſs of redreſſing Grievances, and making Laws.

There is a Parliament Wit to be diſtinguiſh'd from all other kinds; thoſe who have it, do not ſtuff their Heads only with Cavils and Objections.

They have a deliberate and an obſerving Wit, a Head turned to publick Things; Men who place a greater Pleaſure in mending a Fault than in finding it out.

Their Underſtanding directeth them to object in the right Place, and not like thoſe who go by no other Rule, than to conclude, That muſt be the beſt Counſel which was not taken.

Theſe wholeſale Judges ſhew ſuch a groſs and peeviſh Ignorance that it appeareth ſo openly in all they ſay or do, that they give loud Warning to all conſidering Men not to chuſe them.

VIII. The Diſlike of ſlight airy Men muſt not go ſo far, as to recommend Heavineſs in Oppoſition

ſition to it, eſpecially where Men are convicted of it by Experience in former Seſſions.

As a lively Coxcomb will ſeldom fail to lay in his Claim for Wit; ſo a Blockhead is apt to pretend, that his Heavineſs is a Proof of his Judgment.

Some have an univerſal Lethargy ſpread upon their Underſtanding without Exception; others have an Inſufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in ſome Caſes Men have *quoad hanc*; theſe laſt can never ſo turn their Thoughts to publick Buſineſs, as to give the Attention that is neceſſary to comprehend it.

There are thoſe who have ſuch a thick Shell upon their Brains, that their Ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh ſuch a ſtout Reſiſtance againſt Common Senſe, that it will never be ſubdued by it: True Heart of Oak, Ignorance that will never yield, let Reaſon beat never ſo hard upon it; and though their kind Neighbours have at ſeveral Elections ſent them up to School again, they have ſtill return'd the ſame incurable Dunces.

There is a falſe Gravity that is a very ill Symptom; and it may be ſaid, that as Rivers, which run very ſlowly, have always the moſt Mud at the Bottom; ſo a ſolid Stiffneſs in the conſtant Courſe of a Man's Life, is a Sign of a thick Bed of Mud at the Bottom of his Brain.

A dull Man is ſo near a dead Man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the Liſt of the Living; and as he is not to be buried whilſt he is half alive,

ſo

ſo he is as little to be employ'd whilſt he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other Things than they were formerly.

In ancient Times they were little more than Great Aſſizes; a Roll of Grievances; *Magna Charta* confirmed; Privileges of Holy Church preſerved; ſo many Sacks of Wool given, and away.

Now there are Traps and Gins laid for the well-meaning Country-Gentleman; he is to grapple with the Cunning of Men in Town, which is not a little improved by being rewarded and encouraged.

So that Men whoſe good Intentions are not ſeconded and ſupported by ſome Degree of Ability, are as much the more dangerous, as they are leſs criminal than cunning Knaves. Their honeſt Miſtakes, for Want of diſtinguiſhing, either give a Countenance to, or at leaſt leſſen the Scandal of the injurious Things that are done to the Public: And with Leave aſked for ſo odd an Expreſſion, their innocent Guilt is as miſchievous to the Laws and Liberties, as the moſt deliberate Malice of thoſe that would deſtroy them.

IX. There is an Abuſe which daily encreaſeth, of ſending ſuch to Parliament, as are ſcarce old enough to be ſent to the Univerſity.

I would not in this reſtrain the Definition of theſe Boys to the Age of Twenty-one: If my Opinion might take Place, I ſhould wiſh that none

none might be choſen into the Houſe of Commons under Thirty; and to make ſome Equality, I ſhould from the ſame Motives think it convenient, that no Lord ſhould have a Vote in Judicature under that Age.

But to leave this Digreſſion; I cannot ſee why the Chuſers ſhould not at leaſt make it a Rule among themſelves, not to ſend any Man to repreſent them under the Age of Twenty-five, which is the Time of Majority in moſt other Places of the World.

Surely it is not that we are earlier Plants than our Neighbours.

Such Suppoſition could neither be juſtified by our Climate, nor by the Degree of Latitude in which we are placed; I muſt therefore attribute it to the Haſte our Anceſtors had (and not without Reaſon) to free themſelves from the Severity of Wardſhips.

But whether this, or any Thing elſe, was the Cauſe of our earlier ſtepping into Man's Eſtate; ſo it is now, that according to our Laws, Twenty-one is the Age of Diſcretion; and the young Man is then veſted with a legal, how defective ſoever he may be in his natural Underſtanding.

With all this, there ought to be a Difference made between coming out of Pupillage, and leaping into Legiſlatorſhip.

It is perhaps inconvenient enough, that a Man ſhould be ſo ſoon let looſe to deſtroy his own Eſtate; but it is yet worſe, that he

ſhould

ſhould then have a Power of giving away other Men's.

The Law muſt make general Rules, to which there always will be ſome Objections.

If there were Tryers appointed to judge when Leading-ſtrings ſhould be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and ſome perhaps with their grey Hairs; there being no ſmall Number of old Boys in all Times, and eſpecially in this.

It is neceſſary therefore to make Exceptions to this general Rule, where the Caſe ſo much requireth it, as it doth in the Matter in Queſtion.

The Ground of ſending theſe *Minors* to Parliament ought not to recommend the Continuance of it to thoſe who are Lovers of Liberty; ſince it was by the Authority and Influence of Great Men that their Stripling Sons were firſt receiv'd by the humble depending Boroughs, or the complying Counties.

They called it, as many do ſtill, the beſt School for young Men. Now Experience hath ſhew'd us, that it is like a School only in this Reſpect, that theſe Youngſters when they are admitted, deſerve to be whipp'd in it.

If the Houſe of Commons is a School, it muſt be for Men of riper Age; theſe are too young to learn there, and being elevated by a miſtaken Smattering in ſmall Politicks, they grow too ſupercilious to learn any where elſe; ſo that inſtead of improving young promiſing Plants, they are deſtroy'd by being miſplac'd.

If then they do themſelves Hurt by it, it is ſure yet they do the Houſe no Good by coming into it.

They were not Green Geeſe that are ſaid to have ſav'd the Capitol; they were certainly of full Age, or elſe their Cackling could not have been heard, ſo as to give Warning.

If theſe young Men had Skill enough to pitch upon ſome Body in the Houſe, to whom they might reſign their Opinion, and upon whoſe Judgment they might lean without Reſerve, there might be leſs Objection.

But to ſpeak Truth, they know as little how to chuſe, as thoſe did who elected them; ſo that there is no other Expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may ſay, generally ſpeaking, that a young Man being too ſoon qualified for the ſerious Buſineſs of Parliaments, would really be no good Symptom.

It is a Sign of too much Phlegm, and too little Fire in the Beginning of Age, if Men have not a little more Heat than is convenient; for as they grow older they will run a Hazard of not having ſo much as is neceſſary.

The Truth is, the Vigour of Youth is ſoften'd and miſapply'd, when it is not ſpent either in War or cloſe Studies; all other Courſes have an idle Mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like Trees, which for Want of pruning run up to Wood, and ſeldom or never bear any Fruit.

To conclude this Head, it muſt be own'd, that there

there is no Age of our Life which doth not carry Arguments along with it to humble us: And therefore it would be well for the Buſineſs of the World, if young Men would ſtay longer before they went into it, and old Men not ſo long before they went out of it.

X. Next to theſe may be rank'd a Sort of ſuper-fine Gentlemen, Carpet-Knights, Men whoſe Heads may be ſaid to be only Appurtenances to their Perukes, which intirely ingroſs all their Care and Application.

Their Underſtanding is ſo ſtrictly appropriated to their Dreſs, that no Part of it is upon Pain of their utmoſt Diſpleaſure to be diverted to any other Uſe.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected Clown, or to make it a neceſſary Qualification for a Member of Parliament, that he muſt renounce clean Linen or good Manners; but ſurely a too earneſt Application to make every Thing ſit right about them, ſtriketh too deep into their ſmall Stock of Thoughts to allow it Furniture for any Thing elſe.

To do right to theſe fine ſpun Gentlemen, Buſineſs is too coarſe a Thing for them, which maketh it an unreaſonable Hardſhip upon them to oppreſs them with it; ſo that in Tenderneſs to them, no leſs than out of Care to the Publick, it is beſt to leave them to their Taylors with whom they will live in much better Correſpondence, when the Danger is prevented of their falling out about Privileges.

XI. Men of Injuſtice and Violence, in their private Dealings, are not to be truſted by the People with a Commiſſion to treat for them in Parliament.

In the *4th* of *Edw.* 3. The King Commandeth in his Writs not to chuſe any Knights who had been guilty of Crime, or Maintenance.

Theſe warm Men ſeldom fail to run into Maintenance, taken in a larger Extent.

It is an unnatural Sound to come from a Man that is arbitrary in his Neighbourhood; to talk of Laws and Liberties at *Weſtminſter*; he is not a proper Vehicle for ſuch Words, which ought never to be prophaned.

An habitual Breaker of the Laws, to be made one of the Law-makers, is as if the Benches in *Weſtminſter-Hall* ſhould be filled with Men out of *Newgate*.

Thoſe who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of Reſpect to their Country.

Quite contrary, they will leſs ſcruple to do Wrong to a Nation where no Body taketh it to himſelf, than to particular Men to whoſe Reſentments they are more immediately expoſed.

In ſhort they lie under ſuch ſtrong Objections, that the over-balance of better Men cannot altogether purify an Aſſembly were theſe unclean Beaſts are admitted.

XII. Exceſſive Spenders and unreaſonable Savers are to be excluded, being both greedy from differing Cauſes.

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They are both of them Diſeaſes of Infection, and for that Reaſon ought not to be admitted into publick Aſſemblies.

A prodigal Man muſt be greedy, becauſe he thinketh he can never ſpend enough.

The Wretch muſt be ſo, becauſe he will never think he can hoard enough.

The World firſt admireth Men's Wiſdom for getting Money, and then raileth at them if they do not throw it away; ſo that the prodigal Man is only the leſs unpopular Extreme; he is every Jot as well prepared as the Miſer to fall out with his Morals, when once a good Temptation is offered him to lay them aſide.

On the other Side ſome rich Men are as eager to overtake thoſe that are richer, as a running-Horſe is to get to the Race-poſt, before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often deſire to heap, rather becauſe others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they covet with ſo much Impatience.

So that it is plain, the Fancy hath as great a Share in this imaginary Pleaſure of gathering as it hath in Love, Ambition, or any other Paſſion.

It is pretty ſure, that as no Man was ever the richer for having a good Eſtate, if he did not look after it; ſo neither will he be the honeſter if he hath never ſo much.

Want of Care will always create Want of Money; ſo that whether a Man is a Beggar becauſe he

he never had any Money, or becauſe he can never keep any, it is all one to thoſe who are to truſt him.

Upon this Head of Prodigality, it may be no unreaſonable Caution to be afraid of thoſe who in former Service have been extravagantly liberal of the Public Money.

Truſting is ſo hazardous a Thing, that it ſhould never be done but where it is neceſſary; ſo that when Truſtees are found upon Tryal to be very laviſh, even without examining into the Cauſes of it, (which are generally very ſuſpicious) it is a reaſonable Part of preventing Wit to change Hands, or elſe the Chuſers will pay the Penalty that belongeth to Good-nature ſo miſ-placed, and the Conſequences will be attended with the Aggravation of their not being made wiſer by ſuch a ſevere and coſtly Warning.

XIII. It would be of very great Uſe to take a general Reſolution throughout the Kingdom, that none ſhould be choſen for a County but ſuch as have either in Poſſeſſion, or Reverſion, a conſiderable Eſtate in it; nor for a Burrough, except he be Reſiant, or that he hath ſome Eſtate in the County, in preſent or Expectancy.

There have been eminent Men of Law who were of Opinion, that in the Caſe of a Burgeſs of a Town not Reſiant, the Court is to give Judgment according to the Statute, notwithſtanding Cuſtom to the contrary.

But not to inſiſt now upon that, the prudential Part is Argument enough to ſet up a Rule to abrogate an ill Cuſtom.

There

There is not, perhaps, a greater Cauſe of the Corruption of Parliaments, than by adopting Members, who may be ſaid to have no Title by their Births.

The Juries are by the Law to be *Ex vicineto*; and ſhall there be leſs Care that the Repreſentatives of the People be ſo too?

Sure the Intereſt of the County is beſt placed in the Hands of ſuch as have ſome Share in it.

The Outliers are not ſo eaſy kept within the Pale of the Laws.

They are often choſen without being known, which is more like chuſing Valentines than Members of Parliament. The Motive of their Standing is more juſtly to be ſuppoſed, that they may redreſs their own Grievances which they know, than thoſe of the County, to which they are Strangers.

They are choſen at *London* to ſerve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties before they come to be Repreſentatives. One would think the Reproach it is for a County not to have Men within their own Circle to ſerve them in Parliament, ſhould be Argument enough to reject theſe Treſpaſſers, without urging the ill Conſequences in other Reſpects of their being admitted.

XIV. As in ſome Caſes it is adviſeable to give a total Excluſion to Men not fitly qualified; ſo in others it is more proper to lay down a general Rule of Caution, with Allowance of ſome Exceptions, where Men have given ſuch Proofs of themſelves,

themſelves, as create a Right for them to be diſtinguiſhed.

Of this Nature is that which I ſhall ſay concerning Lawyers, who, by the ſame Reaſon that they may be uſeful, may be alſo very dangerous.

The Negligence, and Want of Application in Gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more neceſſary than naturally they are in Parliament.

They have not only ingroſſed the Chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a Man of the Robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more ſerious Reflection of all Gentlemen, that it may be an Argument to them to qualify themſelves in parliamentary Learning, in ſuch a Manner as that they may rely on their own Abilities, in order to the ſerving their Country.

But to come to the Point in Queſtion: It is not without Precedent that practiſing Lawyers have been excluded from ſerving in Parliament; and, without following thoſe Patterns ſtrictly, I cannot but think it reaſonable, that whilſt a Parliament ſitteth, no Member of Parliament ſhould plead at any Bar.

The Reaſon of it is in many Reſpects ſtrong in itſelf, and is grown much ſtronger by the long Sitting of Parliaments of late; but I will not dwell upon this: The Matter now in Queſtion being concerning Lawyers being elected, which I conceive ſhould be done with ſo much Circumſpection, that probably it would not often happen.

If

If Lawyers have great Practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great Sign of their Ability; and at the ſame Time giveth a Suſpicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it ſhould be ſo in Fact, that no King ever wanted Judges to ſoften the Stiffneſs of the Laws that were made, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the Reaſon of State, and the Convenience of the Government; it is no Injury now to ſuppoſe it poſſible for Lawyers in the Houſe of Commons, ſo to behave themſelves in the making of new Laws, as the better to make Way for the having their Robes lined with Fur.

They are Men uſed to argue on both Sides of a Queſtion; and if ordinary Fees can inſpire them with very good Reaſons in a very ill Cauſe, that Faculty exerciſed in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to thoſe that chuſe them.

And therefore, without arraigning a Profeſſion, that it would be ſcandalous for a Man not to honour; one may, by a Suſpicion, which is the more excuſeable when it is in the Behalf of the People, imagine that the Habit of taking Money for their Opinion, may create in ſome ſuch a Forgetfulneſs to diſtinguiſh, that they may take it for their Vote.

They are generally Men who by a laborious Study hope to be advanced: They have it in their Eye as a Reward for the Toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very ſlow, and ill diſpoſed (let the Occaſion never ſo much require it) to wreſtle with that Soil where Preferment groweth.

Now if the Suppoſition be in itſelf not unreaſonable, and that it ſhould happen to be ſtrengthened and confirmed by Experience, it will be very unneceſſary to ſay any more upon this Article, but leave it to the Electors to conſider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat againſt Men tied to a Party.

There muſt in every Body be a Leaning to that Sort of Men who profeſs ſome Principles, more than to others who go upon a different Foundation; but when a Man is drowned in a Party, plunged in it beyond his Depth, he runneth a great Hazard of being upon ill Terms with good Senſe, or Morality, if not with both of them.

Such a Man can hardly be called a free Agent, and for that Reaſon is very unfit to be truſted with the People's Liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It is ſaid, that in ſome Part of the *Indies* they do ſo affect little Feet, that they keep them ſqueezed while they are Children, ſo that they ſtay at that ſmall Size after they are grown Men.

One may ſay ſomething like this of Men lock'd up in a Party; they put their Thoughts into ſuch a narrow Mold, that they can never be enlarged nor releaſed from their firſt Confinements.

Men in a Party have *Liberty* only for their

Motto;

Motto; in reality they are greater Slaves than any Body elſe would care to make them.

A Party, even in Times of Peace (tho' againſt the original Contract, and the Bill of Rights) ſets up and continues the Exerciſe of Martial Law: Once inrolled, the Man that quitteth, if they had their Will, would be hang'd for a Deſerter.

They communicate Anger to one another by Contagion: And it may be ſaid, that if too much Light dazzleth the Eye-ſight; too much Heat doth not leſs weaken the Judgment.

Heat reigneth in the Fancy; and Reaſon, which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, taketh more Time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The Heat of a Party is like the Burning of a Fever; and not a natural Warmth, evenly diſtributed to give Life and Vigour.

There was a Time indeed when Anger ſhew'd a good Sign of Honeſty; but that Evidence is very much weaken'd by Inſtances we have ſeen ſince the Days of Yore: And the publick ſpirited Choler hath been thrown off within Time of Memory, and loſt almoſt all its Credit with ſome People, ſince they found that Governments thought fit to make their ſo doing a Step to their Preferment.

A ſtrong bluſtering Wind ſeldom continues long in one Corner.

Some Men knock loud only to be let in; the Buſtle they make is animated by their private Intereſt. The outward Blaze only is for Religion,

and Liberty: The true laſting Fire, like that of the Veſtals which never went out, is an Eagerneſs to get ſomewhat for themſelves.

A Houſe of Commons compoſed of ſuch Men, would be more properly ſo many Merchants incorporated in a regular Company to make their particular Adventures, than Men ſent from the People to ſerve and repreſent them.

Amongſt the many other ill Conſequences of a ſtated Party, it is none of the leaſt, that it tempteth low and inſignificant Men to come upon the Stage, to expoſe themſelves, and ſpoil Buſineſs.

It turneth a Cypher into a Figure, ſuch a one as it is: A Man in a Party is able to make a Noiſe, let it be never ſo empty a Sound.

A weak Man is eaſily blown out of his ſmall Senſes, by being muſter'd into a Party; he is flatter'd till he liketh himſelf ſo well, that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an Employment.

Nothing is more in faſhion, than for Men to deſire good Places, and I doubt nothing is leſs ſo than to deſerve them.

From Nobody to Somebody is ſuch a violent Stride, that Nature, which hath the negative Voice, will not give its royal Aſſent to it: So that when inſufficient Men aim at being in Buſineſs, the worſt of their Enemies might out of Malice to them, pray for their Preferment.

There could be no End, if one did not ſtop till this

this Theme had no more Matter to furniſh. I will only ſay, nothing is more evident than that the Good of the Nation hath been ſacrificed to the Animoſities of the ſeveral contending Parties; and without entering into the Diſpute which of them are more or leſs in the right, it is pretty ſure, that whilſt theſe oppoſite Setts of angry Men are playing at Foot-ball, they will break all the Windows, and do more Hurt than their pretended Zeal for the Nation will ever make Amends for.

In ſhort, a Man ſo engaged is retained before the People take him for their Council; he hath ſuch a Reverſe for his Party, that it is not adviſeable for thoſe who would chuſe him, to depend upon his Profeſſions. All Parties aſſuming ſuch a diſpenſing Power, that by their ſovereign Authority they cancel and diſſolve any Act or Promiſe that they do not afterwards approve.

Theſe Things conſidered, thoſe who will chuſe ſuch Men deſerve whatever followeth.

XVI. With all due Regard to the nobleſt of Callings, military Officers are out of their true Element when they are miſplaced in a Houſe of Commons.

Things in this World ought to be well ſuited. There are ſome Appearances ſo unnatural, that Men are convinc'd by them without any other Argument.

The very Habit in ſome Caſes, recommendeth or giveth Offence.

If

If the Judges upon the Bench ſhould, inſtead of their Furrs, which ſignifie Gravity, and beſpeak Reſpect, be cloathed like the Jockeys at *Newmarket*, or wear Jack-Boots and *Steenkirks*; they would not in reality have leſs Law, but Mankind would be ſo ſtruck with this unuſual Object, that it would be a great while before they could think it poſſible to receive Juſtice from Men ſo accouter'd.

It is to ſome Degree the ſame Thing in this Caſe; ſuch martial Habits, Red Coats, *&c.* make them look very unlike grave Senators. One would almoſt ſwear they were Creatures apart, and of a differing Speceies from the reſt of the Body.

In former Times, when only the reſiant Shopkeeper was to repreſent his Corporation (which by the Way is the Law ſtill at this Day) the Military Looks of one of theſe Sons of *Mars*, would have ſtared the quaking Member down again to his Burrough.

Now the Number of them is ſo encreaſed, that the peaceable Part of the Houſe may lawfully ſwear they are in fear of their Lives, from ſuch an awful Appearance of Men of War.

It maketh the Room look like a Guard-houſe by ſuch an ill-ſuited Mixture. But this is only the Out-ſide, the Bark of the Argument; the Root goeth yet deeper againſt chuſing ſuch Men, whoſe Talents ought to be otherwiſe applied.

Their two Capacities are ſo inconſiſtent, that Mens undertaking to ſerve both the Cures, will be

the

the Cauſe in a little Time, that we ſhall neither have Men of War, nor Men of Buſineſs, good in their ſeveral Kinds.

An Officer is to give up his Liberty to obey Orders; and it is neceſſarily incident to his Calling that he ſhould do ſo.

A Member of Parliament is originally to be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better truſt him with theirs.

An Officer is to enable himſelf by his Courage, improved by Skill and Experience, to ſupport the Laws (if invaded) when they are made; but he is not ſuppoſed to be at Leiſure enough to underſtand how they ſhould be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his Thoughts with what may beſt conduce to the Civil Adminiſtration; which is enough to take up the whole Man, let him be never ſo much raiſed above the ordinary Level.

Theſe two oppoſite Qualifications, being placed in one Man, make him ſuch an ambiguous divided Creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is beſt to keep Men within their proper Sphere; few Men have Underſtanding enough exactly to fill even one narrow Circle, fewer are able to fill two: eſpecially when they are both of ſo great Compaſs, and that they are ſo contrary in their own Natures.

The Wages he hath as a Member, and thoſe he receiveth as an Officer, are paid for Services that are very differing; and in the Doubt which of them

them ſhould be preferably performed, it is likely the greater Salary may direct him, without the further Inducements of complying moſt, where he may expect moſt Advantage by it.

In ſhort, if his Dependance is not very great, it will make him a ſcurvy Officer; if it is great, it will make him a ſcurvier Member.

XVII. Men under the Scandal of being thought private Penſioners, are too fair a Mark to eſcape being conſider'd, in reference to the Point in Queſtion.

In Caſe of plain Evidence, it is not to be ſuppoſed poſſible, that Men convicted of ſuch a Crime ſhould ever again be elected.

The Difficulty is in determining what is to be done in Caſe of Suſpicion.

There are Suſpicions ſo well grounded, that they may pretend to have the Force of Proofs, provided the Penalty goeth only to the forbearing to truſt, but not extending it ſo far as to puniſh.

There muſt be ſome Things plain and expreſs to juſtify the latter, but Circumſtances may be ſufficient for the former. As where Men have had ſuch ſudden Cures of their ill Humours, and Oppoſition to the Court, that it is out of the Way of ordinary Methods of Recovery from ſuch Diſtempers, which have a much ſlower Progreſs; it muſt naturally be imputed to ſome Specifick that maketh ſuch a quick Alteration of the whole Maſs of Blood.

Where Men have raiſed their Way of Living, without any viſible Means to ſupport them in it,

a Suſpicion is juſtified, even by the Example of the Law, which in Caſes of this Kind, though of an inferior Nature, doth upon this Foundation not only raiſe Inferences, but inflict Puniſhments.

Where Men are immoral, and ſcandalous in their Lives, and diſpenſe familiarily with the Rules by which the World is govern'd, for the better preſerving the Bonds of human Society; it muſt be a Confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impoſſible for ſuch Men to yield to a Temptation well offer'd and purſu'd; when, the truth is, the habit of ſuch *Bons vivants*, which is the faſhionable Word, maketh a Suſpicion ſo likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there ſhould be nothing but the general Report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common Fame is the only Lyar that deſerveth to have ſome Reſpect ſtill reſerv'd to it; tho' ſhe telleth many an Untruth, ſhe often hits right and moſt eſpecially when ſhe ſpeaketh ill of Men.

Her Credit hath ſometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the diveſting Men of any Thing of which they were poſſeſs'd, without more expreſs Evidence to juſtify ſuch a Proceeding.

If there was a doubt whether there ever was any Corruption of this Kind it would alter the Queſtion; but ſure that will not bear the being controverted.

It will be owned, that there is to be a great Tenderneſs in ſuſpecting; but it muſt be allowed

at the ſame Time, that there ought not to be leſs in truſting, where the People are ſo much concern'd; eſpecially when the Penalty upon the Party ſuſpected goeth no further than a Suſpenſion of that Confidence, which it is neceſſary to have in thoſe who are to repreſent the Nation in Parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a Caution againſt admitting Men to be choſen, who have Places of any Value.

There needeth the leſs to be ſaid upon this Article, the Truth of the Propoſition being ſupported by ſuch plain Arguments.

Sure no Man hath ſuch a plentiful Spring of Thought, as all that floweth from it is too much to be applied to the Buſineſs of Parliament.

It is not leſs ſure, that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the Rule, that no Man ſhould ſerve two Maſters.

It doth ſo ſplit a Man's Thoughts, that no Man can know how to make a fitting Diſtribution of them to two ſuch differing Capacities.

It expoſeth Men to be ſuſpected, and tempted, more than is convenient for the publick Service, or for the mutual good Opinion of one another, which there ought to be in ſuch an Aſſembly.

It either giveth a real Dependance upon the Government, which is inconſiſtent with the Neceſſity there is, that a Member of Parliament ſhould be diſengaged; or at leaſt it hath the Appearance of it, which maketh them not look like

Freemen,

Freemen, though they ſhould have Virtue enough to be ſo.

XVIII. The City of *London* may be conſidered as not only the Rudder, but the Bulwark of the Nation, the Rock againſt which the Waves of Court-Power has always daſh'd without making any great Impreſſion; the greateſt Caution and Circumſpection ought therefore to be had in the Choice of her Repreſentatives.

As Trade is her Support, thoſe who beſt underſtand it, are the Men to be choſen: But by underſtanding Trade I do not mean thoſe who have been vers'd in any particular Branch only, however ſucceſsful they may have been; for ſuch only as have been Merchants of the whole World (if I may be allow'd the Expreſſion) can be proper Judges of the Nature of Trade, as it affects a whole Community.

Thoſe who have any great Connexions with a Court are likewiſe to be rejected, for a trading City and a Court have by Nature or Cuſtom a ſtrange Antipathy; and we have been aſſured by him who beſt underſtood the human Heart, *That no Man can ſerve Two Maſters.*

There ſeems a natural Reaſon that all Repreſentatives ſhould pay a Deference to the Sentiments of thoſe whom they repreſent, in Matters which immediately concern them: Whatever Excuſe may be made for not paying this Deference to ſmall Boroughs, &c. on Account of their Incapacity to judge aright; ſurely this can never

never be alledged to ſo great, and I hope wiſe a City, as the City of *London*.

Therefore Men, who in a former Parliament have acted contrary to the known Sentiments of the City, can ſcarcely have any Pretence to be choſen in the enſuing one.

In the mean Time, after having told my Opinion, who ought not to be choſen:

If I ſhould be aſk'd, who ought to be, my Anſwer muſt be, chuſe *Engliſhmen*; and when I have ſaid that, to deal honeſtly, I will not undertake that they are eaſy to be found.

F I N I S.

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